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## THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRUSSIAN RAILROADS.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ADJUSTMENT OF  
RAILWAY RATES.

The necessity of comparative studies in the various natural and social sciences is an accepted fact. It has come to be well understood that the institutions of other countries must be known before we can thoroughly understand those of our own. This is certainly no less true of railroads than of other institutions. While our railroads may often have been culpably managed, it is equally true that at times they have been most indiscreetly dealt with by some of our legislatures, arousing popular prejudices, which are as unjust and injurious to sound enterprise as they are unfounded in fact. A study of a foreign system of railroads should aid us in gaining an accurate knowledge of the nature of railroad enterprises. It should reveal those tendencies which are inherent in the business and those which are distinctly due to administration. It should diminish criticism and make critics more discriminating and judicious. In spite of excellent civil service and greater prudence in legislation, Prussia during the reign of the "railroad king," Dr. Strousberg, developed railroad problems essentially like those which led to the institution of the Interstate Commerce Commission in this country, and which prompted much of the restrictive legislation in our states.

Prussia began with general, our states, with special legislation. Prussian theory placed railroads in one category and ordinary businesses in another. We have until very recently insisted upon their essential similarity. Prussian railroad history establishes the soundness of the first and the fallacy of the second theory. Continental Europe recognized the dangers of *laissez faire* in the railroad business much earlier than America.

An objection which the student of foreign institutions frequently meets, especially if he is inclined to suggest improvements in our own institutions along lines which he has found acceptable in those of other countries, is that the "conditions" are so different there that the experience of those countries is not applicable to our own. No intelligent person would deny that conditions may differ, and that neither theory nor practice can be sound which takes no cognizance of them. It would be folly to neglect the attitude which certain nationalities habitually take toward public affairs generally, especially in matters concerning administration and legislation. Measures which the Germans might placidly accept might make a nest of rebels of Americans within twenty-four hours, and *vice versa*. But let the student place in one column things in which, for instance, Prussia and the United States are essentially alike, and in another those in which they differ, and the result will surprise him. Speaking generally, it is safe to say that the great manufactures and trades manifest universal rather than national characteristics. Economic and social conditions are everywhere becoming more and more alike. A universality, rather than nationality, of conditions is the much safer hypothesis under our present industrial régime. It should no longer be permissible to dismiss valuable experiences of other countries simply because of the alleged differences in conditions.

The railway charters of Europe and America were largely influenced by English experience. The Liverpool-Manchester Railway charter was based upon the earlier English canal legislation, and the general law of Prussia was constructed upon the same model. The charters granted by our state legislatures reveal almost at a glance their common origin in English law. Granted, as many of them were, by legislatures composed of frontiersmen, they show a frontiersman's intolerance of restraint, and many of the restrictive clauses and reservations contained in the early English and Prussian

laws were shaken off as the charters were carried westward. The struggle in Parliament over the Liverpool and Manchester charter centred about the preamble, which set forth in detail the desirability and justification of the enterprise. In Prussia, a memorial, required by law, performs the same functions. In several of our states, bills praying for railroad charters contained a preamble not unlike that in the English bill. With the downfall of the custom of incorporating preambles in our charters, and of deliberating over them, an element of wholesome restraint was lost, especially in the conspicuous absence of general legislation in most of our states, during earlier years. What the continuance of this custom signifies, Prussian history illustrates. Survivals of this custom are found in a Maine law, which requires a "petition" giving information on specified points, and in the New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut acts which require railway companies to satisfy the railway commissions or the courts, of the public "utility" of the railroads for the construction of which charters are desired. Prussia was more systematic at the beginning than we were.

A single test will impress us with the planlessness of our earlier and most of our later railroad charters. Take early charters granted by legislatures of a dozen different states, cut these into slips each of which shall contain a single provision, put the slips containing similar provisions into the same box, shake the boxes, take one slip from each box—although all the way from one to a dozen boxes may be left untouched without affecting the result!—and by rearranging the slips held in the hand, without paying particular attention to their order in detail, a charter will have been constructed which in all essentials is as perfect as many of the earlier charters granted by the legislatures of any one of the northwestern—and no doubt also of other—states. Let any one who doubts this analyze twenty-five or fifty charters.

The prudence with which Prussia began her railroad building and the evils from which such a policy saved her has its

lessons for us to-day. The following sections will show a part of the Prussian system, and that part which to me seems to be the most valuable, at least from an economic point of view.

*The Relation of the Federal Government to Railroads.\**

There is only one federal railroad in Prussian territory—a short military road from Berlin to the shooting grounds at Zossen. In the eyes of the Prussian law this is a private road. There are federal railroads in Alsace-Lorraine which were acquired after the Franco-Prussian war. A number of these have been leased by the empire to Prussia. Though the federal roads took the lead in drawing into their council advisory bodies like those treated of in a subsequent section, and while the system of rates in existence on these railroads at the time they were acquired contributed an element toward the formation of the present mixed system of rates or “reform tariff,” as it is called, which is in effect on all German roads, the importance of federal railroads can hardly justify further treatment of them in the present essay.

The constitution of the new German Empire, of April 16, 1871, confers upon the federal government extensive powers over all the railroads in the Empire. No German railroad, whether state or private, whether located in Saxony or in Prussia, or any other German state except Bavaria, which secured special concessions in the constitution, can withdraw from the active or potential power reserved in the imperial constitution. These powers may conveniently be grouped under five heads:

1. The right to legislate, which, in a sense, includes all the others.
2. The right to grant concessions.
3. The right to control rates.
4. The right to supervise the building, operation and administration of railroads.
5. The right to employ the railroad for the national defence.

\* Portions of this and the two following sections, about one half of their contents, have previously appeared in a paper by the author on “The Adjustment of Railway Rates in Prussia,” published by the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters.

The federal constitution makes it the duty of the government to cause the German railroads to be managed as a uniform network in the interests of the general traffic. This phrase, "as a uniform network," is an elastic one, and probably would suffice to give the federal government most of the powers it exercises; yet, nine articles of the constitution are either wholly or in part devoted to the subject of railroads, embracing matters pertaining to construction, equipment, operation and repair. These articles declare that the government shall strive to introduce a uniform system of regulations for the operation of all German railroads, and a uniform system of rates; that it shall strive to secure the greatest possible reduction of rates, especially for long hauls of articles supplying the wants of agriculture and of industry, such as coal, coke, wood, ore, stone, salt, pig-iron, fertilizers, etc. In times of distress and famine the emperor, on the recommendation of the railroad committee of the *Bundesrath*, a standing committee required by the federal constitution, may temporarily fix rates for the transportation of the necessities of life, provided that such a reduction shall not reduce rates below those charged on the respective railroads for the transportation of raw material. These constitutional provisions have been well carried out, for the German railroads *are* operated as a system, and their system of rates and of regulations has developed a high degree of uniformity. The emperor has not yet been called upon to exercise his special prerogative during times of distress because the railroads have voluntarily met the needs of such times. The constitutional provisions have been supplemented by ministerial rescripts, royal orders and statutes, and together they form a complete system of responsibility and of control.

*Important Provisions of Prussian Railroad Law.*

The most important and the most commendable feature of the Prussian system, when we consider it from the point of

view of the service which it performs and which it can be made to perform for the public, seems to me to be the advisory bodies which will be discussed later. It would be impossible, however, to understand and to appreciate their full significance without a knowledge of the general characteristics of Prussian railroad law.

In the first place, we should note the classification of Prussian railroads, since the duties and privileges of railroads in their relation to the general public and to the government vary with the class to which they belong. Prussian railroads are classified as:

- |                              |   |                        |   |  |
|------------------------------|---|------------------------|---|--|
| A. State<br>or<br>B. Private | } | Which may<br>be either | { | 1. Primary ( <i>Haupt- or Vollbahnen</i> ).<br>2. Secondary ( <i>Neben- or Sekundärbahnen</i> ).<br>3. Local ( <i>Kleinbahnen</i> ).<br>4. Private branches ( <i>Privatanschlussbahnen</i> ).<br>5. Isolated private roads "not operated by machines." |
|------------------------------|---|------------------------|---|--|

Objectively considered there are no important differences between primary and secondary railroads. Primary roads correspond somewhat to our trunk lines. Both primary and secondary railroads have tracks of normal width, and use similar cars and engines. They differ in equipment, as the secondary railroads have fewer and slower trains, and a smaller percentage of brakes to axles. The two classes are subject to different operating regulations and to different laws in their relation to the post-office, the adoption of rate schedules, etc. The law of November 3, 1838, which is the fundamental railroad law of Prussia, recognizes only primary and secondary roads. Local roads, legally created by the law (*Gesetz über Kleinbahnen und Privatanschlussbahnen*) of July 28, 1892, are not "railroads" within the scope of the law of 1838, and hence not subject to the provisions of the general railway legislation. *Local railroads are placed in the same category with ordinary businesses*, and as such are subject only to ordinary trade regulations. If, however, at any time,

in the opinion of the *Staatsministerium* a local road attains such a degree of importance in the public traffic that it may be regarded as a part of the *general* network of railroads, the state may, on the payment of the full value of such a railroad, and after one year's notice, add it to the state system of railroads. The fourth and fifth classes have no significance for the purposes of this paper. Any recent railroad map will distinguish at least the first two classes.

It has already been stated that the fundamental railroad law of Prussia is the law of November 3, 1838. In all its essentials it is the law of to-day. It grew out of the discussions and negotiations on the first applications for "concessions" or charters, especially out of the careful investigations and statesmanlike considerations preceding the granting of the Magdeburg-Leipzig charter, which in turn was based upon "*Grundbedingungen der Erlaubniss zu öffentlichen Eisenbahnen durch Privatunternehmungen*" (Fundamental conditions for permission to build public railroads by private enterprise). By this law, the state, acting through the minister of public works, has the right, after the expiration of three years from the first of January next following the opening of the road, to supervise, approve or disapprove, (1) all tariff schedules, (2) any proposed change in existing rates, and (3) the establishment of tariff instructions and regulations, special and differential rates. However, the three-year limit is practically void because of the reservations which the state makes in granting concessions.

The granting of concessions has from the first been surrounded by wholesome restrictions. The law aims to fix responsibilities and duties in every instance. It requires the company to furnish proof of the usefulness of the proposed enterprise before its application can receive attention from the authorities. It must furnish reliable statements concerning the capacity of the territory through which the road is to pass to support a railroad, and to give reasons for the choice of a route. It must furnish objective



proof of its ability to meet all the requirements of the concession. This involves not only sufficient capital to build and equip the road, but also the ability to operate it successfully. The proposed railroad must be technically practicable. It must neither frustrate nor make more difficult other and more useful enterprises. It must be permissible from a military point of view, and, above all, it must serve public interests. These preliminary requirements having been complied with, the detailed plan is subjected to an examination by the president of that circuit (*Regierungsbezirk*) in which the central office of the proposed railroad is located. This examination considers primarily private and local interests. All the changes which are brought up for consideration in the course of this examination, whether agreed to or not by the parties interested, are submitted, together with the plan, to the minister of public works. By the latter it is sent to the war office for a special examination with reference to military interests, while mechanics and builders examine the technical details of the plan. The final examination is made by the minister of public works, who pays special attention to the project as a whole in its relation to the entire system of railroads. If he finally approves the project, he recommends it to the king, through whose order the concession is finally granted. The power of the minister of public works does not cease with the grant of the charter, but continues during the period of construction and during the entire life of the road.

The building of state roads, being an attribute of sovereignty, does not require a concession. The building of a private road involves two elements: legal privilege and enterprise, or "undertaking." In the case of state roads only the latter element is involved. In other words, the building of a railroad by the state is purely an act of administration. But before this administrative act is exercised the most rigid and comprehensive investigations are made, which are in general like those indicated above in case of private

railroads. Were we to trace the development of the Prussian system we should find that most of the railroads have been built from social and economic considerations, although political and military considerations have at times been predominant factors. It is absolutely untenable, however, to maintain, as is sometimes done, that Prussia makes her railroads a military and a political machine. Certainly these elements may be discovered in the history of Prussian railroads, but one may unhesitatingly say that if there is any system of railroads in the world which truly and effectively serves all the interests of a nation, that system is the Prussian.

We have already noticed three powers of the minister of public works over railway rates. They apply only to primary roads. Secondary roads may, during the first eight years of their existence, raise or lower rates to meet their own desires, provided they do not go above a certain maximum prescribed by the minister for that period of time; and provided further, that their rates do not conflict with the general principles of rates enforced on state lines. But in no case can these concessions invalidate the general supervisory right of the state. The rates on local roads are provided for in the law of July 28, 1892, as follows:

"The authority upon which the approval of the project devolves is required to make an agreement with the owner as to time-table and rates, and the periods of time in which such agreements shall be subjected to revision, provided that the owner may be allowed to establish his own rates during the first five years, and that thereafter the state shall only fix maximum rates, in doing which due consideration shall be given to the financial interests of the road."

The law reserves to the state this power, but it does not make it a duty; and it is the policy of the state not to interfere with any arrangements the owner may see fit to make, provided he neither practices unjust discriminations nor does anything else contrary to the interests of the public. The law simply reserves to the state the right to act if circumstances require it.

The publicity of rates is adequately secured in Prussian law. All railroads—state or private, primary, secondary or local—are required to publish their rates under the supervision of the same authorities that fix them. Such publication includes all tariffs—passenger (which are also printed on the tickets), freight, local, through rates, terminals, incidental fees, etc. Not only the bare schedules, but also the rules and regulations governing their application, as well as all changes which have been made in them, must be published. Every advance in rates must be published, together with the old rates, at least six weeks before they can take effect. Reductions likewise require the consent of the proper authorities and must be published. Any deviation from published rates is prohibited, and every person has a right to insist upon a computation of the price of transportation on the basis of rates properly published, and no other. Any violation of these regulations may be punished in the ordinary courts of law. During the last decade there has been a tendency to shift points of dispute more and more from the administrative department over to the regular channels of the civil courts. Paragraph 35 of the law of 1838 names the minister (then the minister of trades and industry) as the authority that shall decide disputes between railroads and shippers arising out of rate-questions. The motive which led to such a provision was that this official was best fitted to give right decisions, but with the growth of the railroad system, and with the later development of the courts of justice, the opinion gained ground that the administrative department should be released from the judicial duties imposed upon it by section 35 of the law of 1838. Legislation of 1876 and 1883 was aimed in that direction, and the law of April 1, 1890, transferred all claims arising out of rate-questions to the ordinary courts of law for redress.

In our discussion of the direct administrative organs it will be necessary to pass over the older organization. On

April 1, 1895, the Prussian railroad administration was completely reorganized. Previous to that time there had existed two distinct official bodies, or "resorts," immediately below the minister of public works. The latter was then, and is now, the executive head of the railroad administration, and the two bodies subordinated to him were known as *Eisenbahndirektionen* and *Eisenbahnbetriebsämter*, respectively, the one having direct charge of the operation of the railroads and the other performing purely administrative functions. Of the *Direktionen* there were eleven, and of the *Betriebsämter* seventy-five. The functions of both of these have now been consolidated in the royal state railroad directories, of which twenty have been created, with their seats at Altona, Berlin, Breslau, Bromberg, Cassel, Cologne, Danzig, Elberfeld, Erfurt, Essen, Frankfurt a. M., Halle a. S., Hannover, Kattowitz, Königsberg, Magdeburg, Münster, Posen, St. Johann-Saarbrücken and Stettin. Each directory is composed of a president, appointed by the king, and the requisite number of associates, two of whom, an *Ober-Regierungs-rath* and an *Ober-Baurath*, may act as substitutes of the president under the direction of the minister. Each directory has complete administrative control over all the railroads within its limits, although the subordinate civil administrative organs of the state, such as the *Oberpräsident*, *Regierungspräsident* and *Landrath* have certain powers in the granting of concessions, police regulations, etc. The directory decides all cases arising out of the action of special and of subordinate branches of the administration; and, representing the central administration, it may acquire rights and assume responsibilities in its behalf. The directories may be characterized as general administrative organs, one of whose great functions is the proper co-ordination of all the parts of the railroad system.

Below and subordinated to them are special administrative organs, upon whom falls the duty of local adaptation and supervision. There are six classes of these local

offices, and their names indicate in a general way their functions: operating, machine, traffic, shop, telegraph, and building offices or *Inspektionen*, as they are called. Shortly before the new system went into operation the minister of public works issued special business directions for each class of offices. The contents of each of these ministerial orders may be grouped under three heads: (1) the position of the office in the railroad service; (2) its jurisdiction in matters of business; (3) general provisions. To give a detailed analysis of the functions of the local offices is out of the question here. It should be added, however, that all phases of the service, whether from the point of view of the railroads or of the public, are carefully provided for. Thus one of the foremost duties—" *die vornehmste Aufgabe* "—of the local traffic office is to maintain a "living union" between the railroad administration and the public. For this purpose the chief of the office is in duty bound, by means of numerous personal interviews and observations, to inform himself concerning the needs of the service in his district, to investigate and to remedy complaints and evils without delay, and to take such measures as will secure the most efficient service. It is also one of his duties *to inform the public* concerning the organization and administration of the railroads, so as to avoid idle complaints. This single provision in the rules governing one of the local offices illustrates the spirit of them all.

Private railroads, which before April 1, 1895, had been supervised by a special railroad commission, are now subject to the jurisdiction of the president of a directory and his alternates. This was another step toward greater unity in the system. The directories upon whom the supervision of the private roads devolves are those at Altona, Berlin, Breslau, Cassel, Cologne, Elberfeld, Erfurt, Essen, Frankfurt a. M., Halle, Hannover, Königsberg, Magdeburg, Münster, St. Johann-Saarbrücken and Stettin. As there are twenty directories, and only sixteen supervise private railroads, it is

evident that jurisdictions for private roads are not identical with those of directories. Nor does each directory have an equal number of miles of private or state roads within its jurisdiction. This depends largely upon the geographical distribution of the railroads and upon the intensity of the traffic. Thus, the Berlin directory supervises 587 kilometers of state roads, while Halle has 11,884 kilometers. The other directories lie between these two extremes. It may be added that on April 1, 1895, the private roads represented together only 2200 kilometers (not including *Anschlussbahnen* and 71 kilometers rented to private parties) against 27,060 kilometers\* of state roads, of which 10,479 kilometers contained two or more tracks.

All Prussian railroads, then, whether state or private, are subject to the jurisdiction of a carefully graded administrative system—local, intermediate and central—each part of which is connected with every other part in such a manner that, without interfering with the ability to act promptly in cases of emergency, every act not only finds its responsible agent, but the central organ can also make its influence felt in the remotest branch of the system, and at the same time not transcend its responsibility to the public.

#### *Advisory Councils and other Bodies.*

Whether we regard the interests of the railroads and of the public as identical or not, there are certainly times when harmony between the two does not exist. This may be due to the failure of each to understand the other, or to some wrongful act which one of them may have committed. Whatever the cause, if such circumstances do arise, any organ which can promptly and prudently remove the friction performs an admirable service in the interests of public traffic. Such an agent is found in Prussia in the advisory councils and other bodies which co-operate with the legally responsible parts of the railroad administration. These

\* Increased to 27,911 km. by the close of 1896.

councils are created by law and are required to meet regularly for the purpose of co-operating with the state administration upon all the more important matters pertaining to the railway traffic, especially time-tables and rate-schedules.

The first German advisory council was organized in the federal domain of Alsace-Lorraine. Through an impulse given by the chamber of commerce of the city of Mülhausen, a conference between the representatives of the chambers of commerce of Alsace-Lorraine and the general imperial railroad directory at Strassburg was held at Mülhausen on October 21, 1874. Organization, composition and functions of the council were agreed upon during the first session. Originally its membership was confined to the chambers of commerce of Alsace-Lorraine, but later representatives of the various agricultural and industrial bodies were also admitted. All matters falling within the domain of at least two chambers of commerce could be brought before the council.

The proceedings of this conference made such a favorable impression upon the federal railroad commissioner that he attempted, although without immediate success, to induce the other German railroads, both state and private, to assist in this movement toward a closer union and a better understanding between the commercial and railroad interests, by instituting similar councils. The circular letter of the commissioner, addressed to the railroads on January 11, 1875, is one of the most significant steps in the development of the councils.

"This arrangement," says the letter "primarily strives to establish an intimate connection between the places entrusted with the administration of the railroads and the trading classes. It will keep the representatives of the railroads better informed as to the changing needs of trade and industry and maintain a continued understanding between them; and, on the other hand, it will impart to commerce, etc., a greater insight into the peculiarities of the railroad business and the legitimate demands of the administration, and consequently, by means of earnest and moderate action, it will react beneficially upon both sides through an exchange of views."

This statement sounds the keynote of the whole movement. For a time the railroads were not very ready to respond, and the movement made little progress until the policy of the state to purchase private railroads was about to be inaugurated. The Prussian *Landtag* made its approval of the first bill for the nationalization of railroads dependent upon certain *wirthschaftliche Garantien* (economic guarantees) which it demanded of the government. A resolution to this effect was adopted by the *Landtag* in 1879. The minister of trade and industry had already taken active steps during the previous year. In 1880 a bill embodying the motives of the resolution of the *Landtag* was introduced, and after having undergone various changes and modifications was approved and published as the law of June 1, 1882.

Prussia was thus the first, and, up to the present time, is the only, country in which advisory bodies of this nature were placed upon a legal basis. The law is entitled *Gesetz, betreffend die Einsetzung von Bezirkseisenbahnräthe und eines Landeseisenbahnrats für die Staatsbahnverwaltung*. As the name indicates, it creates a class of advisory boards or councils known as *Bezirkseisenbahnräthe* (circuit councils), and one national council, called *Landeseisenbahnrat*. The national council is the advisory board of the central administration, and the circuit councils of the railroad directories. Since the reorganization of the railroad administration, April 1, 1895, eight circuit councils have been in existence, with their seats in Bromberg, Berlin, Magdeburg, Hannover, Frankfurt a. M., Cologne, Erfurt and Breslau. It will be remembered that there are twenty directories, so that a circuit council serves as an advisory board for more than one directory. The national council is composed of forty members, holding office for three years. Of these, ten are appointed and thirty are elected by the circuit councils from residents of the province or city, representing agriculture, forestry, manufacture and



trade, according to a scheme of representation published in a royal decree. Of the appointed members, three are named by the minister of agriculture, domains and forests; three by the minister of trade and industry; two by the minister of finance; and two by the minister of public works. An equal number of alternates is appointed at the same time. Direct bureaucratic influence is guarded against by the exclusion from appointment of all immediate state officials. The elective members are distributed among provinces, departments and cities, by the royal order to which reference has just been made, and both members and alternates are elected by the circuit councils. The presiding officer and his alternate or substitute are appointed by the king. In addition, the minister of public works is empowered to call in expert testimony whenever he may think it necessary. Such specialists, as well as regular members, receive for their services fifteen marks (about \$3.60) per day and mileage.

The national council meets at least twice annually, and deliberates on such matters as the proposed budget, normal freight and passenger rates, classification of freight, special and differential rates, proposed changes in regulations governing the operation of railroads and allied questions. It is required by law to submit its opinion on any question brought before it by the minister of public works; or, on the other hand, it may recommend to the minister anything which it considers conducive to the utility and effectiveness of the railroad service. Its proceedings are regularly submitted to the *Landtag*, where they are considered in connection with the budget, thus establishing "an organic connection" between the national council and the parliament. In this way the proceedings are made accessible to every one, and an opportunity is given to approve or disapprove what the council does, through parliamentary representatives. The system is one of reciprocal questioning and answering on part of the minister of public works, the national council and the parliament.

The circuit councils are equally important and interesting. Since January 1, 1895, nine of these have been in existence. Their membership, which varies considerably with the different councils, was fixed by the minister of public works in December, 1894. Any subsequent modifications which may have been made have no bearing on what we are considering here. At that time the council at Magdeburg had only twenty-four while that at Cologne had seventy-five members. The nature of their composition can best be illustrated by presenting an analysis of the membership of one such council. The council of Hannover, comprising the railroad directories of Hannover and Münster-Westphalen, seems to be a fair type. In that council we find one representative from each of the chambers of commerce of Bielefeld, Geestemünde, Hannover, Harburg, Hildesheim, Lüneburg, Minden, Münster, Osnabrück, Ostfriesland and Papenburg, Verden and Wesel; one representative from each of the following corporations or societies: Society of German Foundries in Bielefeld, German Iron and Steel Industrials in Ruhrort, Craftmen's Union of the Province of Hannover, Branch Union of German Millers in Hannover, Union of German Linen Industrialists in Bielefeld, Society for Beet Sugar Industry in Berlin, Society for the Promotion of Common Industrial Interests in the Rhine Country and Westphalen, in Düsseldorf, and the Society of German Distillers in Berlin; four representatives from the Royal Agricultural Society in Celle; three from the Provincial Agricultural Society for Westphalen in Münster; one from the German Dairy Society in Schladen and Hamburg, the Society of Foresters of the Hartz, the North German Foresters in Hannover, the Union of Forest Owners of Middle Germany in Birnstein, and from the Society for the Promotion of Moor Culture in the German Empire; and, lastly, one from the Society of German Sea-fishers in Berlin. This one illustration is probably sufficient to show the thoroughly representative character of the circuit

councils. If a circuit comprises railroads covering territory of other German states, the chambers of commerce, industrial and agricultural societies of such territory may also be represented in the council. The minister of public works has power to admit other members, and frequently does so when the nature of the questions upon which the council deliberates makes it desirable. Thus, at a meeting in which the rates on coal and coke—to be noted hereafter—from the Rhenish mining districts to the seashore were to be considered there were present an *Ober-präsident* accompanied by an assessor, a deputy of a *Regierungspräsident*, a *Landrath* (these three are civil administrative officers presiding over a province, circuit, and department, respectively), a representative of the Upper-Mine-Office at Bonn and at Dortmund, of the Royal Mine Directory at Saarbrücken, of the Royal Railroad Directory at Hannover, of the Dortmund & Gronau & Enscheder Railroad Company (private), in addition to the regular representatives and voting members.

The circuit council, as has been indicated above, stands in a relation to the railroad directory similar to that of the national council to the minister. The law makes it mandatory upon the directory to consult the circuit council on all important matters concerning the railroads in that circuit. This applies especially to time-tables and rate-schedules. On the other hand, the council has the right, which it freely exercises, of making recommendations to the directory. In case of emergency the directory may act according to its own judgment, independently of the council, but it is required to report all such cases to the standing committee of the council and to the council itself. This provision supplies the elastic element which enables the railroads to meet momentary wants. The standing committee of the council is an important body. It meets regularly some time before the full council holds its sessions, and its proceedings form the basis of the deliberations in the council. The committee receives petitions, memorials and

other communications. The bearers of these are invited to appear before the committee and to advocate their cause. Questions are asked and answered on both sides, and after all the arguments have been presented the committee votes upon the petition or request, usually in the form of a resolution adopted by majority vote recommending the council to accept or reject the demands made in the petitions. The action of the committee is reported, on each question, by a member designated for that purpose, to the full council at its next session. While the decision of the committee is usually accepted by the council, it in no way binds that body. Before the council meets each member has an opportunity to examine the arguments presented before the committee and the facts upon which its decisions are based. If the advocates of the petitions before the council present new evidence, or if the recommendations of the committee are shown to be unsound, the council simply reverses the decision of the committee. Of the nature of these petitions I shall speak later.

These advisory councils have spread into Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, Hesse, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Austria, Italy, Russia, Denmark, Roumania, and, in a much modified form, into France. An examination of the councils in these countries shows the same principle underlying them all: *the representation of all the different economic interests in the conduct of the railroads*. In composition and organization they are much alike. They owe their existence, however, not, as in Prussia, to law, but simply to administrative orders. In Switzerland there are no real advisory councils, but the public is represented by the regular civil, commercial and industrial organizations. These submit memorials to the Department of Railroads and Post. The wishes of the public as to the time and frequency of trains are presented regularly twice each year by the cantonal governments. The railroad department then calls a joint session of the representatives of the cantons and of the

railroad companies, where these questions are considered. In passing, we may notice, among civilized nations, the absence of England and of the United States from this list.

There are still other bodies which, although not created by law and not confined in their activity to Prussia, have long exerted a powerful influence throughout the empire. Foremost among these stands the *Generalkonferenz* (General Conference). Under its guidance the modern German system of rates, called *Reformtarif*, has been systematically developed. The general conference meets annually, and discusses matters relating to tariffs, fees, operating regulations, etc. Thus, at a recent meeting the conference disposed of no less than fifty-three different items, relating mostly to the classification of goods and the adjustment of rates, all of which, as in case of the circuit councils, had been previously considered in subordinate bodies whose deliberations lie at the basis of the proceedings in the general conference. It is composed of members representing all the German railroads, and votes are distributed according to the number of miles of road the members each represent, and the total number of votes increasing, of course, with the growth of the German system. At the meeting referred to, the total number of votes was 322, of which 51 were not represented. Of these 51, 28 belonged to roads having 1, 10 to those having 2, and 1 to those having 3 votes. The Prussian state railroads had 139 votes, the Bavarian state railroads 28, those of Saxony 16, the state roads of Alsace-Lorraine 11, the state roads of Baden 10, and so on down; the remainder representing the smaller state and private railroads. These figures show the predominating influence of Prussia in the conference.

Bodies subordinate to the general conference have already been alluded to. These are the *Tarif-Kommission* and the *Ausschuss der Verkehrsinteressenten* (Tariff Commission and Committee of Those Interested in Transportation). The tariff commission is a standing committee whose members

represent Prussian state roads, two Swiss roads, and one of the railroads of Mecklenburg. It meets three times a year, and occupies itself with petitions and other communications from shippers. The committee of shippers (*Verkehrsin-  
essenten*) is composed of members representing agriculture, trade and industry; and some of the matters brought before it are previously discussed by a sub-committee. Both of these bodies occupy themselves almost exclusively with freight rates and matters immediately connected with them. Out of twenty-three items brought before them during a two days' session in 1893, twenty-two were deliberated upon in joint session, although each body voted separately. The discussions in these sessions are so thorough that the recommendations made are, in the great majority of cases, approved by the general conference. Those conclusions of the commission which are adopted in the form of a declaratory statement become binding upon members unless protests are made. Subjects discussed in the conference and commission may, and frequently are, brought before the councils.

Among the various railway traffic, and rate-unions which might be mentioned, none have exerted an influence on rates at all comparable to that which has been exercised by the Society of German Railroad Administrations. Founded as a Prussian society in 1846, it became in quick succession a national and an international organization, embracing the railroads of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Luxemburg, Holland, Belgium, Bosnia and Russian-Poland. Both state and private railroads are eligible to membership. A series of eight standing committees covers the special branches of the service, and if extraordinary matters arise they are referred to special committees. Questions upon which the society is to act must be published at least three months preceding the meeting. The proceedings have long been published in an official paper, and, through custom, exert a powerful influence. The attainment of uniformity, in construction and other matters, has been one of its great

aims. In Europe the necessity for international uniformity is much greater than with us, and in the domain of freight traffic this has been well attained by means of an international treaty, signed at Berne on October 14, 1890, by diplomatic agents from Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, Holland, Austria, Hungary, Russia and Switzerland. It is officially known as the "*Convention internationale sur le transport de marchandises par chemins de fer.*"

The history of this international agreement dates back to 1874, the same year that Mülhausen inaugurated the movement which led to the institution of advisory councils. In that year two Swiss citizens, residents of Bâle, directed to the governments of the surrounding states inquiries concerning their willingness to enter into an international freight treaty. Drafts of such a treaty were worked out in both Germany and Switzerland, and discussed in a congress at Berne in 1878. This congress submitted the draft of a treaty to the different governments for examination. Many objections were raised and improvements made. Further conferences, dealing also with questions of technical uniformity, were held in 1882 and 1886, and on October 14, 1890, the draft approved by the third congress, was formally drawn up as a treaty and approved. The original treaty has been modified and supplemented in various ways, partly by agreements among all these countries, and partly by agreements among several of them. Every three years, or sooner, if one-fourth of the treaty-making states demand it, a general congress must be called together, to consider improvements in the agreement.

As its name indicates, the Bernese treaty applies only to international freight traffic. Excepting articles, the transportation of which is regularly monopolized by the post-offices of the contracting states, the treaty governs all shipments of goods from or through one of the states to another. It provides for uniform through-bills of lading, prescribes routes for international traffic, fixes liability in cases of delay

and loss, prohibits special contracts, rebates, and reductions, except when publicly announced and available to all, and prescribes certain custom-house regulations. Not the least important feature of the treaty is the creation of a central bureau, organized and supervised by the Swiss *Bundesrath*, with its seat in Berne. The duties of the bureau are five:

1. To receive communications from any of the contracting states, and to transmit them to the rest of them.
2. To compile and publish information of importance for international traffic, for which purpose it may issue a journal.
3. To act as a board of arbitration on the application of the countries concerned.
4. To perform the business preliminaries connected with proposed changes in the agreement, and, under certain circumstances, to suggest the meeting of a new conference.
5. To facilitate transactions among the railroads, especially to look after those which have been derelict in financial matters. After notice has been given by the bureau, the state to which the railroad belongs or by whose citizens it is owned can either become responsible for the debts of the road or permit the expulsion of the road from international traffic.

The expenses of the bureau are met by contributions of the contracting states in proportion to mileage.

The original agreement provided that any of the states might withdraw at the end of three years, on giving one year's notice. No such notice has ever been given. Any violation of the treaty can be punished in the courts, and a judgment having been rendered in one country, the courts of the others are bound to assist in its execution, unless the decision conflicts with their own laws. But so far as the question of fact is concerned there is no appeal, and a German court is bound to accept the findings of a court in France. Germany, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Switzerland and, to a less extent, France have embodied provisions of the international code in their internal code, thus leading to unification beyond the limits of international traffic. To what extent the Bernese treaty may influence other phases of the national and international law of the states of central



Europe cannot well be foreseen. That states differing widely in forms of government, geographical position and commercial interests have voluntarily made themselves amenable to a common code of law under these circumstances, again impresses one with the great power and many-sided influence of railroads, and the healthy development of closer international relations. The code is binding for a domain embracing nearly three millions of square miles and two hundred and sixty millions of people. It ranks in importance with the international postal, telegraph and copyright unions.

*Proceedings of Advisory Councils.*

The leading features of the Prussian railroad administration relating to rates have now been presented. It remains to illustrate by means of a few sidelights from the proceedings how a part of the machinery acts. To convey a somewhat detailed view of the workings of the administrative organs directly concerned with the operation of the railroads would unduly extend this paper; besides, it would be a little technical and not essential from the economic point of view. So we shall content ourselves with a brief account of some of the deliberations of the advisory and other bodies directly occupied with questions about rates. We shall save time by first obtaining a general idea of the German system of rates, for which purpose a rough summary of the German Reform Tariff is here given.

*German Tariff Scheme.*

1. Fast freight by the piece.
2. Fast freight by the carload.
3. Piece goods.
4. General carload class A1, in shipments of at least 5000 kg.
5. General carload class B, in shipments of at least 10,000 kg.
6. Special tariff A2, in shipments of at least 5000 kg.
7. Special tariff I, II and III, in shipments of at least 10,000 kg.

The rates and what pertains to them are officially published in volumes not unlike our monthly magazines. This tariff

scheme was first introduced in 1877, and through the influence mainly of the general conference it has become gradually more unified. It is obvious that the price of transportation of a good becomes less as it falls into a class farther down the list. The general carload classes include goods of higher value not enumerated in any of the special tariffs, while the special tariffs I, II and III embrace less valuable goods—their value falling by degrees—so that, generally speaking,

Special tariff I includes manufactured goods.

Special tariff II includes intermediate products.

Special tariff III includes raw materials and bulky goods of small value, such as certain waste products of gas factories, tanneries, paper factories, slaughter-houses, etc.

Special tariff A<sub>2</sub> is for goods belonging to special tariffs I and II in consignments below 10,000 and above 5000 kg. Goods belonging to special tariff III, but weighing less than 10,000 though at least 5000 kg., are transported at the rates of special tariff II. Then there are special rules and rates for such things as explosives, precious metals, vehicles, timber, fish, bees, meat, carrier doves, etc. Questions as to classification and the transference of goods from one class to another often arise. Here is a typical case:

The chamber of commerce of Lennep, a Rhenish city, petitioned the general conference to transfer manufactured horseshoes—"raw hoof-irons" the Germans say, but which will here be designated simply as horseshoes—from special tariff I to special tariff II. A prominent business firm brought the question before one of the railroad directories, and from there it was carried before the minister of public works. The minister consulted the permanent tariff commission and the committee of shippers, and finally the question was brought before the advisory councils.

The petitioners asserted that the manufacture of horseshoes was a new industry, which, after many costly experiments, had only recently gained a firm foothold; that the

trade had been gradually growing, especially with the East, and that consignments had been sent to Russia, Italy, Austria and other countries. In domestic trade, the use of these horseshoes had been promoted by military authorities and street car companies, because it lessened cost and relieved the blacksmith of much purely mechanical work. It enabled him to do better work more cheaply and with greater uniformity. The charge that it hindered the education of skillful blacksmiths was untrue.

Extensive statistical tables were introduced to show that the life of the industry depended upon the desired change in rates. Horseshoes were subjected to the same rates as fine iron and steel goods, while they properly belonged to intermediate products in special tariff II. Many of the factories were unfavorably located, and it was one of the highest duties of the state to promote industrial activity in regions which lie away from the great channels of trade, if it could be done without too great a sacrifice on part of the public. The desired concessions on part of the railroads would do this. It was unjust for the representatives of the Saxon state railroads to assert, as they had done in the tariff commission, that the change in the classification of horseshoes would benefit the Rhenish industry only. Particularistic designs should not be suspected in a movement which was deeply rooted in economic necessities. The representatives of the Bavarian railroads had considered fiscal reasons only, but these alone could not be decisive. It would not be business-like for the state, in order to gain a temporary advantage, to sacrifice the very source of this gain. The railroads would fare worse with high rates and a stagnant industry than with lower rates and a prosperous industry, and it was safe to assert that the desired change would, through an increased output, ultimately yield a greater income to the railroads. The established system of rates would not be prejudiced; besides, when the question of system is balanced against that of the welfare of an industry

the latter should prevail. The nationalization of railroads was undertaken, not for fiscal but for economic reasons.

These were the main features of the petition. The petition, together with the records of previous deliberations on the question, was brought before the standing committee of one of the circuit councils by which the arguments were reviewed and new evidence introduced. Can these horseshoes be classed with rod-iron? Are they an intermediate product? Could not ploughshares and other articles demand a like change? What is the relation of the proposed change to the competition of Swedish iron? Is it true that the manufacture of horseshoes injures the craft of blacksmiths? Will it lead to a wider use of horseshoes and consequently to an improvement of agriculture? Such were the questions which the committee considered, and in response to which evidence of individuals and of societies was presented and subjected to the most rigid examination by specialists of various classes. From the committee the question went, as all questions considered by the committee do, before the full council, by which the report of the committee was reviewed and the horseshoe problem finally disposed of.

In a similar manner both the committee and council deliberated upon a petition of the Agricultural Society of Rhenish Prussia to place street sweepings in the special class with fertilizers, and to reduce rates for shorter distances, because sweepings are used only within from ten to twenty kilometers of the cities. The sweepings, it was asserted, had considerable value for agriculture, but that the difficulty of disposing of them had led some cities, notably Hamburg, to destroy them, thus depriving agriculture of a valuable agent. The composition and value of sweepings were examined and compared with other fertilizers now available, and the probable effect on the use of these considered. At the same session of the committee the change in time-tables for the summer period was regularly considered.

Twenty-eight items were presented by the fourteen different members, involving the time and frequency of passenger trains. All propositions which received a majority vote in the committee were brought, of course, before the full council.

In speaking of the composition of circuit councils reference was made to the question of rates on coal and coke. One of the railroad directories brought before the standing committee of the circuit council a question first submitted in a petition of the chamber of commerce of Bielefeld and subsequently endorsed, either in part or entire, by other organizations. The petition sought a temporary suspension of rates applicable to coke and coal sent from the Rhenish mining districts to the German seashore and to foreign countries. The suspension was to remain in effect until the prices in the coal market should return to a normal level.

In the consideration of this question the railroad directory asked the committee and council to deliver an opinion on each of the following points: (1.) Is the level of prices of coke and coal in the Rhenish-Westphalian district an abnormal one? (2.) How must the prices of coke and coal be constituted in order that their level may be characterized as normal? (3.) Should a permanent or temporary suspension of existing freight rates on coke and coal be recommended in order to effect a reduction of prices within the country? (4.) What markets and what rates come into consideration in case of the temporary or permanent suspension of the rates in question? Shall the rates to foreign countries or also the rates to the seashore be changed? (5.) What will be the probable effect of the proposed suspension of rates with reference to the sale and the price of coal and coke within the country?

In both the committee and in the council this problem was thoroughly dissected. Naturally there were differences. Abnormal prices were thought to be prices which include an element of profit out of proportion to the other constituents

of price. On the one hand, a profit of 40 per cent was shown to exist, which, however, the experts present at once proved to be confined to two specially favored mines. In computations to ascertain the average selling price of coal there was a difference of several marks, which called forth the most rigid examination of the statistics and other evidence upon which the figures were based. The railroad authorities showed that in five years the outlay for coal for locomotives had risen from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 7 per cent of their total expenses, while coal was still rising, and the coal men showed that their costs of production had risen because of advances in wages and expenses connected with insurance. It was said that the present low rates for the transportation of coal had been introduced at a time when the coal industry had lain prostrate, and that now all other industries were suffering from the high price of coal, and that this advance in freight rates on coal and coke would check exportation and force down prices at home. A decrease in exportation was deplored by representatives of the German marine. In conclusion, among both the advocates and the opponents of the change the opinion was expressed that there was reason for rejoicing in the thorough airing which this question had received; that it would lead to a better understanding of actual conditions, and that the coal industry would hereafter be more inclined to give due consideration to the condition of other German industries.

We come now to the consideration of a question which, perhaps even more forcibly than what has just been related, illustrates the comprehensiveness and fair-mindedness with which the railroad authorities investigate the problems which affect wide economic interests. It is a petition, submitted by the minister of public works to the national council for an expression of opinion. The printed evidence sent to the council alone covers about 500 folio pages. The problem submitted by the minister to the national council was this: Giving due consideration to the financial condition

and the financial interests of the state, is it conducive to the general economic interests of the country (1) to introduce special reduced rates for all kinds of manures and fertilizers, irrespective of their nature, and, if so, what rates? (2) to introduce special reductions, and to what extent, for the transportation of (*a*) potassium salts—without discrimination or only “raw salts”—and phosphate; and (*b*) lime, in pieces or powdered, used for fertilization?

This was submitted in October, 1893. During March of that year the *Herrenhaus* had passed a resolution requesting the government to introduce reduced special rates for fertilizers, a number of which were specified in the resolution. As stated in support of the resolution, the necessity for it lay in a cheapening of elementary utilities in order to maintain and promote agriculture, and to increase the receipts of the railroad from the traffic with the interior. The same resolution had previously been adopted by the budget commission of the *Landtag*.

In response to this resolution the minister of public works sought information from the minister of agriculture, domains and forests, and all the different agricultural experiment stations as to the occurrence and production of natural and artificial manures in different parts of the country, their price and value in use, and the nature of their application. Various commissions reported on the prices at which different fertilizers could be profitably used on different soils. The agricultural authorities showed where and to what extent these soils existed, and elaborate statistics of the railroads and manufacturers told how much had actually been consumed. In this lay the vital issue—the capacity of the land to absorb profitably artificial manures, and, the ability of the farmer to secure them. The national council said that a simple expression of its appreciation of the great economic significance of the use of both natural and artificial manures was not sufficient, but that an exact and conscientious examination of the effect of

existing rates on the widest and most effective use of these was necessary. The deliberations of the committee of shippers, the tariff commission, the general conference, and the evidence submitted through the minister of public works were all thoroughly sifted by the standing committee of the national council before the case went before the full council for its final verdict.

Marbles, slates and pencils even have been the object of the most serious deliberations of bodies so large and so dignified as the general conference and the national council. A memorial was addressed to one of the railroad directories by the marbles, slate and pencil industry of Thüringen, praying for a detariffization of these articles. The memorial gives a detailed account of the manufacture of marbles, slates and pencils in Thüringen, and points out the places where it meets competition. It gives the cost of production, output, markets, prices and the rates of transportation. The conditions of the laboring population are described, and the probable effect of a change in rates, on their welfare, is analyzed. One may be pardoned for turning aside to state that the laborers there engaged in the manufacture of slates, although exposed to the danger of completely undermining their health, receive often no more than twelve cents for a day's work of eighteen hours. American boys would smile to know that gray marbles sell there for 26.3 cents per thousand, while the polished ones cost about 29.7 cents. The railroad directory to which the memorial was sent addressed a letter of inquiry to the manufacturer of slates and pencils in Westphalia, whose business would be affected by the competition of Thüringen, calling for information on various points relating to this industry. This reply, together with the memorial and supplementary material, was submitted, through the minister of public works, to the national council.

One can not read these documents without being impressed with the sincere desire of the railroad authorities to do justice to all competitors, and at the same time to



make such changes as will better the conditions of people like these laborers in Thüringen. Whether or not the benefits arising from a change in rates would really accrue to these people was most carefully considered. The material submitted for consideration in deciding this question, as in case of the preceding questions, furnished evidence on every point which was raised. The moderation with which the petitions are drafted, the high plane upon which the debates are carried on, the thorough conscientious and judicial-mindedness with which the arguments are balanced in reaching a decision, all manifest a tone not unlike that of the decisions of our best courts of justice.

*Summary and Remarks.*

Prussia began with a general law. In this respect her history is the direct opposite of that of our states. Treating this general law as a nucleus, legislation, royal and ministerial orders and rescripts, and custom have developed two distinct groups of railway administrative organs, each representing distinct sets of interests, yet both working co-operatively. On the one hand, we have a group of organs which represents railroad interests in particular and which take the railroad point of view. The minister of public works, the railroad directories, the general conference and tariff commission and the Society of German Railroads fall into this group, although the two latter stand in a measure on the border line, and of them are none confined exclusively to railroad interests. Legal responsibility is fixed in the first two. On the other hand, we have the national and circuit councils with their standing committees and the committee of shippers. These primarily take the social and economic point of view. They are not legally responsible for the conduct of the railroads, but act as advisory bodies. They represent all the different interests of the nation, and through them every citizen has not only an opportunity but a right to make his wants known.

The marble and slate industry of Thüringen is relatively insignificant, yet of vital importance to the inhabitants of that section of the country. We have seen how complete an examination the petition of these people received at the hands of the highest authorities of the land. A fair and prompt hearing can be denied to no man, rich or poor. The railroads are made real servants. All the administrative, legal and advisory bodies are organically connected with one another and with the parliament. The lines may be drawn taut from above as well as from below. The elaborate system of local offices makes the system democratic, and the cabinet office and the directories give it the necessary centralization. The system presents that unity which a great business requires, on the one hand; and, on the other, that ramification and elasticity which the diverse and manifold interests of a great nation need for their growth and expansion.

In the formation of the councils the elective and the appointive elements are so well proportioned that it is impossible to "pack" any one of them. In this respect, each body is a check on the other. It is easy to reproach the system with "bureaucracy," but to give adequate support to such a stigma would be an impossible task. We need only recall the analysis of the membership of one of the councils. Farmers, dairymen, fishermen, foresters, traders, miners, manufacturers—the long array of human professions have here their representatives. One representative may shape his views according to some particular philosophy of the state. Another will at once restore the balance by presenting the opposite. One member may make extreme statements about some branch of trade or industry. Another will furnish exact information for its refutation. I doubt whether we can find anywhere in the world deliberative or administrative bodies in which the tone and the many-sidedness of the proceedings, the amount and variety of special knowledge displayed, and the logic of the debates present more points of excellence than in these councils and other bodies.

If from the point of view of the railroads nothing should come of these proceedings—a most violent assumption—the information brought together would alone make them invaluable. No investigating committee of congress or legislature ever had such an array of talent in every field at its disposal and under its control as is found in one of these councils or commissions.

It is not my purpose here to present new schemes or to suggest ways and means by which existing institutions of our own country might be modified to perform similar functions. But let me ask whether, if our coal and iron industry, or fruit and cattle raising, or any other industry were to receive an examination like that given to the Rhenish coal and coke industry, many things might not be different from what they now are. Imagine a well-organized assembly whose members could speak for the railroads, for wheat and cattle, for fruit and steel, for forests and for mines, and is it not probable that the effects anticipated in the circular letter of 1875 would make themselves felt also in the United States? Both our railroads and the public have repeatedly gone to extremes because neither understood the other. A system like the Prussian, reveals the railroads to the public and the public to the railroads. It tends to remove blind prejudice and violent measures on both sides. By reflecting accurately the existing conditions, these conferences lead to tolerance, forbearance and mutual concessions. The conclusions reached often have as salutary an effect on industrial situations as suspended judgments of our courts on defendants. It would be difficult to find in Prussia to-day, among the representatives of any class or interest, objections to the entire railroad system which are not relatively insignificant. Both the public and the railroads have gained more and more as the system has developed.

It will doubtless have been noticed that in the discussion of the council proceedings the decisions and their effect were

not stated. It was my purpose simply to show the nature of the councils, and either a negative or an affirmative vote would throw no additional light on the problem. Without a full presentation of local details it could mean little to state that the council voted to place sweepings into the special tariff with fertilizers.

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B. H. MEYER.

University of Wisconsin.